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ON THE CULTURAL TRACK OF THE SASQUATCH

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Abstract

The Lower Fraser term sésq̓əc, which has been anglicized "sasquatch," is only one of a number of Coast Salish terms for beings said to have attributes more or less like those given to sasquatches in current non-Indian accounts. Do these native terms refer to beings of a single kind or of several kinds? Are the beings the terms refer to real or imaginary? To answer these questions, this paper brings together a number of native accounts and descriptions of native beliefs about sasquatch-like beings, offers a classification of such beings, and explores reasons why the Coast Salish may have held such beliefs.

John Green (1968:67-68) has criticized anthropologists for our treatment of Indian accounts of the sasquatch. He suggests that we have failed to recognize that our Indian informants have been talking about real animals because we are predisposed by our professional interests to treat "the Sasquatch by any of its various names" as a mythical being. He also implies, I think, that we must have more data than we have published and he expresses the wish that someone assemble and analyze these data.

Roderick Sprague (1970) evidently suspects Green's criticism is justified and has called for more data and more discussion. I agree that we have neglected the subject and I gladly join Bruce Rigsby (1971) in answering the call. I hope that these notes will contribute to the general compendium and analysis that Green and Sprague have asked for.

I will present here data that I have collected among the Coast Salish of southwestern British Columbia and northwestern Washington together with what I have found in the published works available to me from the larger Coast Salish area. But I should begin with my basic assumptions:

1) I am still unconvinced that there is a real animal there. I must admit that I will be delighted if it turns out that there is, but for that very reason I must be critical in looking at what is said to be evidence. I do not think, however, that scientific objectivity is served by ignoring the question. So if there is evidence in the native traditions and beliefs, I hope to try to see it.

2) I do not think we can assume from the outset that there is a single image for which "sasquatch" is only one of many names, unless we assume beforehand that the terms do in fact refer to a real animal of wide distribution. If

the terms "sasquatch," etc. refer only to imaginary beings then there may be as many images as there are names or even human imaginations. So let us start looking at what attributes have been associated with these various names and see to what extent they may refer to the same being.

3) I do not think we can assume that Indian categories are the same as Western ones. In fact, I see no evidence of a dichotomy of "real" vs. "mythical" or "natural" vs. "supernatural" in Coast Salish thought. There is a dichotomy "myth age" vs. "present age," but the beings seen then were "real" and those seen today are "real" to the Coast Salish. There is also a dichotomy "vision experience" vs. "ordinary experience," but the beings seen in both are equally "real." So I do not think that informants' statements on this matter are relevant to our enquiry.

I will develop this last point shortly and then go on to the variety of names for sasquatch-like beings and the attributes ascribed to them. Finally, I will consider the question of what these names may refer to. But first let me begin with the now-famous name "Sasquatch" itself.

The word "sasquatch" is an anglicization of the word sɛ́sq̓əc, which occurs in the mainland dialects of the Halkomelem language. This language, a member of the Salish language family, is spoken in southwestern British Columbia in the Lower Fraser Valley from Yale to the mouth of the Fraser and on southeastern Vancouver Island from Nanoose Bay to Malahat. The word occurs in all of the mainland dialects I have data for but not in the island dialects. Phonetically, the Halkomelem /s/ is quite close to the English /s/; the Halkomelem /ɛ/ varies between the English /ae/ of "bat" and /e/ of "bet;' the Halkomelem /q̓/ is a glottalized uvular stop closest to English /k/ but produced farther back toward the throat and with the explosive quality of the glottalized sounds of Northwestern languages; the Halkomelem /ə/ is like the English unstressed /ə/ in "aside;" and the Halkomelem /c/ varies from the /ts/ of "gets" to the /č/ of "church." It seems to me that the Halkomelem sɛ́sq̓əc should have produced an English */sáeskəts/ or */sáeskəč/ rather than the existing /sáeskwač/; possibly the current spelling is based on a misinterpretation of an anthropologist's or linguist's phonetic transcription rather than a direct perception of the Halkomelem word. Morphologically, the term sɛ́sq̓əc cannot be analyzed in Halkomelem; I have suggested to my Musqueam teacher James Point a possible connection with sɛ́q̓, 'get split, get torn,' but he doubts the possibility. The term refers, of course, to a great, hairy, man-like creature said to live in the mountains.

The term may have been introduced into English as "sasquatch" in the 1920's. John Green (1968:1) identifies the source as J. W. Burns, "who was for many years a teacher at the Chehalis Indian Reserve, on the Harrison River near Harrison Hot Springs." Burns wrote articles in the 1920's and 1930's that "achieved wide circulation in newspapers and magazines in the United States and Canada." Burns introduced the "Sasquatch" to the public but at the same time, by quoting Indian stories with supernatural elements, stigmatized it as an "Indian legend." This was unfortunate, Green believes, because scientists in particular are inclined to dismiss the subjects of Indian legends as purely imaginary.

It is certainly true that we anthropologists have generally dumped sasquatch-like beings into a category "supernaturals" and let it go at that. We

may have done this because we are professionally interested more in native culture than in the facts of zoology, but I think it is more because we are operating with too simple a version of the Western dichotomy. In fact, if we were true to our earlier, Boasian objective of describing the native culture as seen by the participants, we ought not to categorize so freely the creatures our informants tell us about.

Let me explore this problem. The sésq̓əc is one of many creatures the Lower Fraser people believe (or used to believe) exist (or once existed) in the wilderness around them. Most of these creatures can, from Indians' descriptions of them, be matched with animals known to Europeans. A few, however, cannot. Since we Europeans, scientifically trained or not, operate with a dichotomy real/mythical or natural/supernatural, we are inclined to place these creatures that are not part of our "real" world into our category "mythical" or "supernatural." As Green has pointed out, most of us have done this with the sésq̓əc and we may be wrong.

But I believe we would also be wrong to imagine that the Indians have (or had) the same dichotomy and that they would simply draw the line differently, putting the sasquatch in the category "real animals" and leaving other, to our minds more fanciful, creatures in the category "mythical animals" or "supernatural beings." In fact, I see little evidence for any such native dichotomy at all.

Once years ago I was eliciting ethnozoological information from an aged Lummi friend, Julius Charles. I had gone through Dalquest's *Mammals of Washington* asking about everything from shrews to elk and when I had finished Julius said something like: 'There's another animal you haven't got there. They used to be around here but they've become pretty scarce and the white people have never caught one and put it in a zoo. It had a big body in the middle and two heads, one at each side. It lived in swamps where it swam about. But it could turn into a couple of mallards and fly away. It had three kinds of noises -- one was like the laugh of a loon, one like the hoot of a hound, and one like the hissing of a mallard drake. It was a great thing to get so you'd become an Indian doctor.'

This "animal" was called a s?ínəɬqəy. Such fierce and powerful things that were seen by men "training" to become "doctors" (in anthropological jargon "questing for shamanistic visions") were sx̌él̓əqəm. Grizzly bears and killer whales were also good sx̌él̓əqəm to get a doctor's power from. But any "animal" might be referred to as a sx̌él̓əqəm.[1]

Evidently to Julius the Two-headed Serpent s?ínəɬqəy was just as much a "real animal" as the rest of those on my list. It belonged to a class sx̌éləqəm that included most or all of my animals. For Julius, as for other Coast Salish I have worked with since, a distinction between "real" and "mythical" or "natural" and "supernatural" beings just is not there. Thus a description of Coast Salish culture that is truly "emic" -- that is, organized by native categories -- should describe whales and bears, sasquatches and two-headed serpents all under the same heading as part of the "real" world of the Coast Salish.

But this is not to say that they ought to have the same kind of reality for the Western scientist, who surely ought to go on seeking evidence and doubting what evidence does not support. But rather than trying to sort out

the beings Indians talk about into the "real" and the "mythical," it might be better to apply our dichotomy to the attributes that Indians ascribe to these beings.

For example, the creature called sqəlɛ́ʔw, translated by our informants as 'beaver,' is said to fell trees and build dams. Although on the face of it this seems to be an unlikely thing for an oversized rodent to do, we can see evidence for it and are inclined to believe it. Old Coquitlam William was said to have once sneaked up on a beaver colony at work and discovered that as beavers fell trees to build dams they whistle signals and shout instructions at each other like human loggers and teamsters. Without corroboration some of us may doubt this, but since some kind of signal that a tree is falling should have survival value for the beaver, perhaps we should suspend judgment. Old Pierre, the Katzie shaman, told Jenness (1955:51) that beavers and muskrats will respond to an incantation and change cold, icy weather to rain. Most of us would doubt this and give the label "supernatural" to the relationship Old Pierre asserted exists between beavers and the weather. But we would have to admit that we have not tested the relationship; we doubt it because it is contrary to empirical evidence about causes of changes in the weather and because of a more general proposition that incantations only work on people who believe in them, a proposition that is also untested. (Old William might have argued that since beavers talk they should respond to incantations. Unfortunately, it is likely that no one today knows the incantation and so we cannot know what responses beavers may once have made to it.)

As a second example, the creature called šxʷəxʷáʔas, translated as 'thunder,' is described as a huge bird that lives on high peaks, makes a great noise with its wings, and either hunts the sc̓ínkʷaʔ, a snake-like creature identified with lightning, or uses the sc̓ínkʷaʔ as a weapon in hunting whales. Since Ben Franklin's kite experiment, we Europeans have had an explanation of thunder and lightning that does not require birds and snakes (though most of us might find it harder to explain to an older Coast Salish how electricity does it) and so we are likely to doubt the existence of these creatures. Recently, however, it has been suggested (Holmes 1971; Ott 1971) that the thunderbird had a "real" basis in the California condor, a huge bird that once lived as far north as the Lower Fraser, nested on high crags, made a great noise with its wings, and fed on stranded sea mammals. So perhaps we will be left, as with the beaver, doubting only the supposed relationship between the animal and meteorological phenomena.

As a third example, the creature Julius Charles called sʔínəɬqəy seems wholly constructed of attributes we are inclined to doubt. Yet two-headed snakes do exist, as occasional viable mutants. So even this "animal" in the native bestiary may have some basis in our real world. I am not arguing, however, that all of the beings the Coast Salish talk about must have some basis in our reality. My point is simply that we cannot easily sort these beings out into "real" and "imaginary" and that the Coast Salish do not try to. But let me get back to the track of the sasquatch.

Or are there several sasquatches? In the beliefs of the Coast Salish in the area where I have worked, the sc̓ésqəc is not the only being that seems not really human and yet has a human shape and other human attributes. Speakers of the island dialects of Halkomelem and of Straits tell about the ʒ̓ámək̓ʷəs or c̓ámək̓ʷəs, which may or may not be identical with the mainland Halkomelem

sésq̓əc. For some there are also c̓iétkʷ and stít̓əɬ or stéy?təɬ, which may sound like the sésq̓əc or simply like feral men. Then there are wild women or ogresses who catch children and eat them. These are known especially from a Hansel-and-Gretel-like story where the ogress is outwitted and roasted in her own fire pit. The story is usually given a specific locale, but most people know more than one such story and assume that these refer to different ogresses and give evidence that formerly there were several or perhaps a whole population. There are also forest beings who knock down trees. And there are sea beings, also known especially from localized stories, who have taken human wives, as some say an occasional sésq̓əc has done. Finally, beings that usually have animal forms may appear in human form in the vision experience. If there is a real non-human primate here, his cultural track is obscured by a variety of semi-human footprints.

In the following pages I will present what I have discovered of Coast Salish beliefs that might refer to a real non-human primate, proceeding area by area on a linguistic basis.

Mainland Halkomelem: Upper Stalo

The Halkomelem-speaking people of the Lower Fraser Valley sometime call themselves collectively Stalo(stá?ləẅ, 'river') people. Wilson Duff (1952) used the term "Upper Stalo" for the people from Chilliwack upstream, with whom he worked in 1949 and 1950. He gives (1952:118-119) informants' descriptions and accounts of two man-like creatures, the sasquatch (Duff recorded the native term as sésχač) and the cannibal woman (θúxia).

"Sasquatches," Duff reports, "are usually seen singly. They are described as men, covered with dark fur, more than 8 feet tall, who leave footprints about 20 inches long." Duff gives two older accounts of experiences with them and two more recent accounts with a generalized version of them. In the first, a "typical" older account (given by Adeline Lorenzetto of Ohamil), the sasquatches caused a person they touched to become unconscious; they stole women whom they kept as wives, had half-human children, and stole food from people for the women and their children. They had a language, which the women learned. When a woman escaped and re-entered human society, she became unconscious again "because she had been with the sasquatches and wasn't like a person any more." She had forgotten her language and hair was starting to grow all over her body, but Indian doctors worked on her and she became normal again. Many years later the sasquatches returned, but she could no longer communicate with them; however, she asked hunters not to shoot them because they might be her relatives. In the second older account a sasquatch murdered a group of women but left their children unhurt. In the accounts of recent encounters, Duff says, a person usually sees a sasquatch on a moonlit night, runs, is followed, but not overtaken, and escapes. In one account given, a man shoots a sasquatch. In the second, which is a brief version of the famous Ruby Creek incident, the sasquatch breaks into a house to steal dried fish.

The cannibal woman was described as a short, stout woman who caught children, gummed their eyes shut with pitch, carried them off in a basket, and ate them. She lived in a cave above Yale, which was blasted away when the railroad was built and the white people may have captured her at any rate a picture appeared in the paper that looked like her.

Mainland Halkomelem: Katzie

In 1936 Diamond Jenness worked with Old Pierre, a famous shaman at Katzie, near Port Hammond, in what in Duff's terms would be Lower Stalo country. In describing the creatures that might be encountered in guardian spirit vision experiences, Old Pierre mentioned two creatures that Jenness identifies as "timber giants." One is the sésq̓əc, which anyone, even a white man, might meet but which does him no good since the sésq̓əc "was an ordinary creature unable to confer any power." But the other was the šiyéy̓ə, which "always carried a small stick, one stroke of which would topple down a small tree, three strokes the biggest tree in the forest." Old Pierre said that a Katzie man named sɬéməx^{w} had obtained šiyéy̓ə as a guardian spirit and could therefore perform great feats of strength (Jenness 1955:61).

It is not clear in what sense the sésq̓əc is "an ordinary creature." Other creatures that Old Pierre said might become guardian spirits include a number of mammals, birds, fishes, reptiles, and even insects, as well as inanimate things, all of which are "real" to Europeans, and also a number of beings that are "mythical" to Europeans; these last include beings that have human form but live far away where they are encountered by the wandering "vitality" of the power seeker (Jenness 1955:48-64). Perhaps what made the sésq̓əc "ordinary" to Old Pierre was its being human in attributes and nearby. Old Pierre evidently did not mention any cannibal ogress at all in this connection.

In 1952 I worked with Old Pierre's son Simon Pierre. Information I got from Simon differed from what Jenness was told by Old Pierre in several respects. Simon knew four terms for creatures of the sort Jenness identifies as "timber giants": sésq̓əc, šiyé·y̓ə, stí?ta?aɬ, and θáməq^{w}əs. But he identified the last two as just being something like the first. He described all four as being able to disappear suddenly. Once up on Pitt Lake an old woman had a sturgeon hanging in front of her house; she saw a sésq̓əc wading toward it and so fired a rifle into the water ahead of him -- and he was gone. Simon described the šiyé·y̓ə as his father had, as a creature that knocks down trees, and added that it was "the meanest of them all." But in another context he mentioned, contrary to what his father had said, that the Katzie man sɬéməx^{w} (a famous outlaw discoverer of a lost gold mine) had obtained power from the sésq̓əc. Simon also knew of the cannibal ogress, called qəlqəlíɬ. She caught children and took them home in a basket and ate them. There were perhaps only one or two of these, he thought, one of which had been overpowered at Musqueam and drowned in the middle of Georgia Strait. Simon identified the cannibal ogress as a "spirit" (a word few of my informants have ever volunteered); he also said that the sésq̓əc can disappear "like a spirit."

Mainland Halkomelem: Musqueam

The Musqueam live at the mouth of the North Arm of the Fraser River, in what is now the city of Vancouver. I have been working on the Musqueam dialect of Halkomelem, as I have had the time, since the late 1950's, principally with the late Andrew and Christine Charles and with James Point. The term sésq̓əc is well known at Musqueam as the name for a large, hairy, man-like creature that lives in the woods and mountains. My informants identified this word with the z̓ámək^{w}əs of the Cowichan of Vancouver Island. They also identified the mainland qəlqəlíɬ (from qél, 'bad,' possibly 'evil seeker'), the cannibal ogress, with the c̓əwx̣é?ləc of the Cowichan.

James Point (born 1881) dictated a text in 1963 that consists mainly of a version of the story of how the cannibal ogress was roasted in her own pit. But as an introduction he explained that the sésq̓əc is the male and the qəlqəlíɬ the female of the same species. A translation of the introductory part of this text follows:

> It must have been long ago when there were still only Indians here and everywhere on up the river too there were only Indians. There were none of those who are called "white people" but only Indian people. According to the old people, walking in the woods, everywhere away from the water, were what are called the sésq̓əc. They were big, resembling a person but tall, far taller than the biggest people here. And it is said that their wives were what the people called the qəlqəlíɬ.
>
> It must have been that (now deceased) qəlqəlíɬ who was the one who came down to the shore when it became evening and was nearly dark, carrying on her back what was called a x̌pét [identified as an open-work basket] as a container for everything that she was getting in the ground as she was roaming all over the woods. These were all sorts of lizards [the word includes salamanders], frogs [including toads], and snakes, just all sorts of things like that. They were inside the basket that she carried on her back when she was going around doing that. Whenever it had become evening and was nearly dark, she went from one to another of the houses of that time, sort of sneaking after the people, when the Indians had nearly gone to bed. And sometime she would catch a small child who was still outside. She would quickly jump to grab it and put it into the basket that she carried.

In the rest of the text the ogress speaks, dances, and sings possessed, activities that are to some extent required by the plot of the story.

Another Musqueam text, dictated by Andrew Charles in 1960, tells how he and two other men were hunting in the Gulf Islands when they heard noises that they took to be the sounds of the k̓ʷak̓ʷəqʷnəcíʼls, translated by Christine Charles as "The Little Choppers," felling a big Douglas fir. No description appears in the text. But James Point describes the k̓ʷak̓ʷəqʷnəcíʼls as follows:

> It's supposed to be an animal that has the habit of knocking down dead trees. It has only one leg and something in its hand to strike dead trees with. You could hear it. It's gone out of existence. You don't see them any more.

When I asked him, in another context, about the term Simon Pierre had used for the tree-striker, James Point gave it as syéʼy̓ɛʔ and said it was "some kind of a monkey or something."

Island Halkomelem: Cowichan

There are two main dialects of Halkomelem on Vancouver Island, Nanaimo and Cowichan. I have no data from the Nanaimo, but for the Cowichan area I have several taped texts as yet untranscribed of accounts of encounters with

the ʔámək^{w}əs, identified by my Musqueam informants as the Cowichan equivalent of their sésqəc, as well as stories of the cannibal ogress. In a Cowichan story known to my Lummi informant Patrick George, the cannibal ogress was originally the daughter of syálaca, the "first man" at Duncan.

Straits: Lummi

The Straits language is or was spoken by the Semiahmoo, Lummi, and Samish on the mainland between Boundary Bay and Anacortes, by the Saanich, Songhees, and Sooke on southeastern Vancouver Island, and by the Klallam on the northern shore of the Olympic Peninsula and at a colony on Vancouver Island at Beecher Bay. I did ethnographic work with Straits informants in the late 1940's and early 1950's.

At Lummi I obtained information on sasquatch-like beings from Julius Charles (born c. 1860, spent some of early years at Semiahmoo) and Patrick George (born c. 1875, spent some of early years at Cowichan and some with the Samish on Guemes Island). Both knew the cámək^{w}əs (recorded variously), which seems identical with the Cowichan ʔámək^{w}əs and the Fraser sésqəc. I give my field notes almost verbatim:

> The cámeq^{w}əs is a great tall animal or whatever it was that lived in the mountains. It was like a man but shaggy like a bear, like a big monkey 7 feet tall. They went away when the whites came. (The Indians never killed any; it was a pretty wise animal, or whatever you call it.) If you saw one it made you kind of crazy. They throw their power toward you.
>
> Over 40 years ago some fellow across the line went hunting deer early one morning when snow was on the ground. He saw one and followed it to the edge of a lake where it disappeared. He went home and got kind of crazy. His wife put him to sleep by the fire (they were living in a kind of smokehouse) and while she was out getting wood he rolled into the fire and died. (He was a half-breed named Arthur -- lived up toward the Fraser.) [JC]
>
> The cámək^{w}əs are big, 7 to 8 feet tall. They whistle only, can't talk. They whistle when you go out in the evening. Once some white people caught one and tried to feed him. They gave him potatoes. He picked them up, looked at them, and threw them away. They gave him meat, and he did the same thing. I guess some make you crazy. They are real sx̌éləqəm. They grow hair on the body. There are none here any more, but I guess there are some up in the mountains around Chilliwack. If a person could get one for x^{w}nɛʔm I guess it would be pretty tough. (No, I never heard of one with it. I don't know what they eat.) [PG]

Patrick George also distinguished the stéyʔtəɬ, which look like the cámək^{w}əs but are smaller, and the ciétk^{w}, who were simply "wild Indians." Accounts of encounters with these follow:

> The stéyʔtəɬ are like cámək^{w}əs, but are not as big, and can talk. Once we were camped at Warner's Prairie picking hops. We were camped

there about a week and one night we heard "wã•• wã•• 'ã••." When you see them, it makes you crazy. Lots of fish there, and they must have been fishing. People from the hop-fields were fishing and one man went fishing up where the dam is. He went up on horseback with a hook and got his two saddle-bags full of fish. (He was greedy.) Coming back, he heard these people and whipped his horse to go faster, but the saddle-bags slapped the horse and he couldn't run fast. These people got him, and put him unconscious, ripped the saddle-bags and all off, breaking the bellybands, and the horse came home alone. The people at the hop-yards went up to look for him with horses and buggies and found him and brought him back. An Indian doctor worked on him. At first he couldn't talk at all, he just sat and turned his head from side to side. Later he talked slowly, just a little, and told what had happened. After about a year he got worse and died.

(I went up to Warner's Prairie [on the Samish River] once or twice while I was married at Guemes.) [PG]

David Crow, sk̓ʷtá, was a slave. Nobody knew where he came from in the first place. He was raised here and he just spoke Lummi. Once when he was a young man, he was sold from here, south, perhaps to Squally people. He didn't like it there so he ran away. On the way he was caught by c̓iɬtkʷ. These were wild Indians who had some kind of poison which they could throw at a person and make him crazy. They also had whistles with which they were able to make noises like the calls of various birds. They wore no clothes but had guns. They killed beavers and dried the skins and sold them to the whites. They left broken twigs along the road as a sign that they were out. They carried bags over their shoulders in which they kept their equipment -- the poison, which they threw by hand, and the little whistles made with two pieces of wood tied with cherry bark. They caught Crow and kept him by their campfire, but in the evening he got away and hid a short distance away in a willow tree that hung over the water. They looked for him and all night long he heard the calls of various birds which they made with their whistles. He kept thinking he was going to go out of his mind, but he would put his hand down into the water and after a bit it would revive him. In the morning they were gone. And soon an Indian with a survey party stopped and used their fireplace. Crow came out of his hiding place and spoke with the Indian in Skagit language: the Indian explained to the whites about the c̓iɬtkʷ, saying that this was the month that they came out, and that you could tell when they were about by the broken twigs along and across the road. They directed Crow to where some other Indians and whites lived. He went there and he was given a canoe and some food and directions as to how to get back to Lummi. [PG]

Both of these informants also knew c̓əwx̣ɛ́ʔləc, a cannibal ogress who is clearly the same as the Cowichan c̓əwx̣ɛ́ʔləc and the Fraser qəlqəlí̓ɬ. Julius Charles described her as a huge fat woman who stole children, put them in a basket she carried on her back, took them off and roasted and ate them. One place where she "napped kids" was at a stream on Birch Bay. When he told me this, early in my field work, I assumed that it was just a story told to

children to keep them quiet, but both Julius and Mrs. Charles insisted that this had really happened. As proof, they said, there is a place on Vancouver Island where the ogress cooked the children; there were a lot of stones and a big pole she used that lasted many years without rotting so that it was pointed out as a local wonder. The ogress was finally killed, they said, by a number of people from several tribes armed with arrows and spears. It was not clear from this whether there was one ogress or several, but another Lummi I worked with only briefly, Elizabeth Malenberg, told two ogress stories; one accounted for how the ogress was destroyed at Lummi and the second for how she was destroyed at Guemes Island. Patrick George knew a Cowichan story accounting for the origin of the ogress and gave an account of how an ogress was captured.

> Once we heard of it, it might be just a story. They were fixing the railroad tracks, slashing [This was the Esquimalt-Nanaimo RR]. There were lots of tents. Every time they came home, and there was no flour and no bacon, so they got more. This happened again. So someone got a rifle and waited by a hollow stump. An old woman came with a big sack on her back. She ate the flour, sometimes 2 or 3 bags, or she shook her back and a bag opened up and she put it in there. They followed her to a cave in the mountains. A blacksmith made a trap and they set it with a sack of flour for bait. It caught her with a sort of handcuff. When she pulled away, 10 men pretty nearly got beat, holding the line. One half-breed there claimed to understand her and said she said, "kʷɛ́s, nəʔiŋəs" [let me go, grandchild?]. After that they got her locked up in a wire wagon. She bent it trying to get out. Then she started to cry. It rained a heavy rain. They got her down to camp and put her on a train for Victoria. They claim they sent her over to old Queen Mary [Victoria?] but they got tired of it, because it eats too much. After that she got tame. Maybe this is just a story. I heard it at Cowichan when I was growing yet. It was supposed to be c̓əwx̣ɛ́ləč. It was a little woman but awful strong.

Patrick George also told about a tree-striker:

> There is a kind of person you sometimes see in the woods. He is a short and hairy man with a cane. He walks with it and hits trees with it. When he hits a tree it falls over. He is called šəčəčíčələ in Lummi.

> Once a Matsqui man named sxʷəc̓šɛ́·nəm went out to k̓ʷc̓ást [seek a vision] and saw a big tree fall with its top coming toward him. He saw something moving in the thick branches of the top and so he jumped in among them and caught the thing. It put him to sleep right away. When he woke up he was sitting nicely with his head against a log. It became his xʷnɛ́ʔm [shaman's guardian spirit].

Finally, Julius Charles and Patrick George each knew a story about a woman who married a man-like sea being and became a sea being herself. One was a Semiahmoo legend set at Point Roberts, the other a Samish legend set at Deception Pass. In the latter the woman gradually acquired the non-human attributes of her husband and so was told by her family not to return.

Straits: Saanich

At East Saanich, Louie Pelkey (born ca. 1870) told me about the ʔáməkʷəs, the cannibal woman, and the tree-striker.

The ʔáməkʷəs, he said, were wild Indians who lived on the high mountain behind Malahat. They look like people but they cannot bend their legs; they hop but they can go very fast. They "belong to Malahat." The Saanich used to call the Malahat people ʔáməkʷəs because they were husky and tall; perhaps the Malahat people were partly the descendants of ʔáməkʷəs. On the mountain behind Malahat they threw rocks at strangers. Once when he was hunting deer there rocks came down into camp. There is a hole in the mountain above and that must be where they live.

While the ʔáməkʷəs, in Louie Pelkey's view, may have become human, the ogress was a woman gone wild. He gave the following account of her:

> Once a woman was lost up in the bush. She was gone a long time and people thought that she was dead. But pretty soon they saw that woman in the bush. She was small, but normal size, but she had turned into something like an animal. She must have had a place two miles or so away up from here. Pretty soon there were two of them. They came into houses and took things. People here saw them. They would come into the house and you wouldn't think they would be dangerous.
>
> This sort of person is called c̓uxʷélič. They took dry salmon. Sometimes they made themselves very small and very old. At other times they were big, tall as the ceiling. They watched people fishing and when they saw them come back they came and loaded up their baskets with fish. They also came to the spit for crabs. Sometimes they heard talking and came like ghosts. They had a roasting ground up there but you can't find it.
>
> They must have been killed out. They came from Saanich but they got wild. They ate persons too. They got children and took them up there. They got soft pitch and pitched the children's eyes shut in order to roast them. Once there were ten kids going to be roasted. One bigger boy closed his eyes very tight, I guess it was his help came to his mind to do that. The fire was red hot then. In a few minutes' time they were going to roast those children and eat them. All the other children were small and could not see. The one opened his eyes and the pitch was on his lids so he could see. There he saw c̓uxʷélič dancing in front of the fire. He saw a stick lying there so he raised it up between her legs and tripped her. Then with the stick he pushed her into the fire. The boy worked at his eyes so that he could see well and went down and told the people to bring up oil, ratfish or dogfish oil, to rub the kids' eyes with. They got the oil, came up, and saw c̓uxʷélič burned there.
>
> That's how one was killed. There must have been more since one was drowned off D'arcy Island. A young man was out one fine day spearing crabs and flounders, singing as he went along. He saw a

> woman walking way up here [south of the spit]. He knew it must be c̓ux̓élič. (The beach was clear then, no logs and driftwood.) The woman hollered, "What are you doing?" He kept on singing. "You better come over here; I'm going with you." He thought what should he do. Pretty soon he thought, "I'm going to get her." When he came close, she said, "Where are you going?" He said, "To D'arcy Island to catch fish. You can go along." So she got in. The young man was getting crabs with a spear. He told the old woman to lie flat with her arms and legs spread so as not to rock the canoe. The crabs were piled up beside the young man. The young man said to the crabs, "Go bite her behind." (Of course you know they didn't wear much clothes.) She said, "What did you say?" He said, "I told the crabs to be quiet." When he got way out he told the crabs again to bite her. They did so. She howled and turned over so he was able to push her out and under, crabs and all. That was way out past D'arcy; that's why we call that rock c̓ux̓élič. That was the last one.

The two stories of the destruction of the ogress are very like the two Mrs. Malenberg told at Lummi. I asked Louie Pelkey if this account was a sx̓ʷiyém, a myth. He said no, it was not and then told me a Star-Husband story as an example of a sx̓ʷiyém.

Louie Pelkey also knew of a tree-striker. He had once seen a tree fall and asked his uncle Harry what had happened. His uncle said it was "a person that you don't see" called šəččəlísələ, who hits trees and knocks them down. There were many, he said, on Pender Island and he told of an encounter with one.

> Once on Narvaez Bay Harry wouldn't make a fire on the beach. He hung onto the kelp in a dark place and covered himself with a dark blanket. The moon shone. He never slept. His wife was along. He looked at the hill and pretty soon he heard a deer coming down. He watched with a Kentucky rifle. Then he saw a man coming. The man walked with a cane and came down towards him. About fifty feet above him was a tree. The man looked down and Harry thought, 'The man must know we're here.' He was almost going to shoot him, then said, "I'll wait," and told his wife to let go of the kelp, and they pulled up the bay. Then the tree came down right where the canoe had been. Harry looked to shoot but saw the man no more. (When a tree falls it means a close relation will pass away.)

Straits: Klallam

The only Klallam person I have worked with any length of time was Henry Charles (born ca. 1875) of Beecher Bay. He told me briefly of two beings of man-like appearance, c̓iétkʷ and stítəɬ.

> The c̓iétkʷ are giants. They have no joints in their legs so they are stiff. They are seen in the mountains on Vancouver Island and on the mainland. If they chase you, climb up because they can't go uphill fast; if you go down they would catch you in a few jumps.

> The stítəɬ are like us but wild. They make you sleep. When the Klallam went fishing on Hood's Canal, they made people sleep and took their fish away. They can talk like an eagle, owl, screechowl, and bluejay. They say there are some yet there on that side [on the Olympic Peninsula] but they are hard to find.

These have the same names as two of the three beings described by Patrick George at Lummi, but Henry Charles' c̓iétkʷ has the gait of the ʒ̓aməkʷəs of Louie Pelkey at Saanich.

The Klallam also told stories about a cannibal woman, named slápu (Gunther 1925:148-151).

Puget Sound

The Puget Sound language is (or was) spoken in several dialects from the Samish and Skagit valleys of northwestern Washington southward to the Puyallup and Nisqually drainages at the head of Puget Sound itself. I have no field notes from Puget Sound speakers on sasquatch-like beings, but there are references in the published works on the area that relate to the data I have already presented.

The speakers of Puget Sound seem to have known three kinds of -- or known three terms for -- man-like forest beings or "wild people." The terms are something like: 1) c̓yátkʷuʔ, 2) qəlúsabš, and 3) stítaɬ. One source goes back to the middle of the last century.

George Gibbs collected information on the Puget Sound area in the 1850's that was published in his *Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon* in 1877. In the body of this work there is no mention of sasquatch-like beings, but there is in the appended "Dictionary of the Niskwalli." In the Niskwalli-English section (Gibbs 1877:305) is the entry: "Tsi-át-ko, *a race of spirits who haunt fishing-places*." And in the English-Niskwalli section, under the heading "Mythological Characters" (Gibbs 1877:308) there are mentioned as belonging to the myth age the "Ke-ló-sumsh *or* ke-ló-sām-ish, *giant hunters of the mountains*" and there is the further note: "Tsé-at-ko are a race supposed still to exist, haunting fishing-grounds and carrying off salmon and young girls at night."

Hermann Haeberlin worked in the central Puget Sound area in 1916-17 and his work was augmented and edited by Erna Gunther in the 1920's and published as *The Indians of Puget Sound* (Haeberlin and Gunther 1930). In this work, under "Intertribal Relations," we find the following:

> The Sound tribes seemed to have some knowledge of the people of the interior. They mentioned the stḗtaɬ, identified by Teit as the Thompson. They believed that these tribes lived on the Fresh River [Fraser River?]. They called these people "wild tribes" who traveled by night and attacked lone wayfarers. They were cowards, never attacking larger groups, so they had no real wars with the Sound Indians. They spoke a language unintelligible to the Snohomish. The Sound Indians said that the stḗtaɬ used to be savages but they had become civilized now.

> Another tribe they mentioned are the qlō´sabc, which has not been identified. These people were supposed to be "savages" living in underground houses.[18] The Snohomish did not know exactly where the qlō´sabc lived permanently, for they roamed over the country most of the time. They were supposed to be "built like giants" and were noted for their thieving. [The footnote reads, "This fact leads one to believe that this was an Interior Salish tribe, if it is not altogether mythical."]

An amateur folklorist Nels Bruseth also believes that beliefs about the stítaɬ were based on experience with real people. Bruseth collected folklore among the Stillaguamish and the Suiattle and Sauk of the Upper Skagit area, evidently beginning around 1910. According to Bruseth (n.d.:14-15) the "Steetathls" were regarded as

> . . . strange and ghostlike Indians, who travelled about and had to be appeased or guarded against, to prevent thievery or murder. There were certain trails that were unsafe; strange tracks had been seen on them. There were noises in the night, chirping and whistling, not of birds. There were disappearances of Indian children, all charged to the Steetathls.

Bruseth finds the source of these beliefs in traditions of real conflict, which he estimates occurred around 1800, between the Skagit people and "King George Indians" over hunting territory above the mouth of "Steetathle Creek." Bruseth gives an account of the conflict based on several versions. The creek he refers to is probably Stetattle Creek, which flows into the Skagit just below the present Diablo Dam. This area was very likely used by hunting parties of Thompson and perhaps other Interior Salish (Spier 1936:39).

On the other hand, Marian W. Smith, who worked in the southern Puget Sound area in 1935-36, seems to have seen no real basis to similar beliefs.

In her ethnography *The Puyallup-Nisqually* (1940:129-130), under the heading "Mythological Beings" she describes a "race of tall Indians, called 'wild' or 'stick' Indians . . . said to wander through the forests." These were usually referred to as "tsiátko" though also as "stetá'ɬ, from ta'ɬ, spear." It was said that they were about mainly at night, they lived by hunting and fishing; their homes were like the dens of animals; their language was a kind of whistle, often heard when they could not be seen; they could not travel by water; they stole fish from Indians' nets and drying racks; they could paralyze human beings with their whistle and so could play tricks, such as removing a man's clothes and tying his legs apart; if harmed they would kill a man with their arrows; and they sometimes stole children or adolescents for wives or slaves. Smith gives an account of one giant boy that was captured and another of one that was killed. She also quotes a similar description of this being given by James Wickersham (1898).

At least two of the three terms given above have been in recent use. Warren Snyder (1968) in his dictionary of southern Puget Sound gives the entries "c̓yátko" and "stétaɬ" both glossed as "wild men said to wander in the woods and be dangerous (Smith 1940)." Also, Thom Hess (n.d.), in an unpublished Stem List of Northern Puget Sound has an entry c̓yátkʷu? or c̓i?átkʷu? 'wild people.'

In Puget Sound beliefs there is also a cannibal woman (jə́gʷa), but as far as I know she has not been associated with the "wild people." In a story given by Snyder (1968:61), however, she removes a man's heart, like the sasquatch in one of the accounts Duff gives.

The Puget Sound people also believed in a race of dwarfs called "Little Earths," who could make people crazy and who had to be propitiated (Smith 1940: 130-133). They do not appear to be like the tree-strikers of the Halkomelem-Straits area.

Twana

The Twana occupied the shores of Hood Canal and the drainage of the Skokomish River. W. W. Elmendorf, who worked with them beginning in the late 1930's, describes (1960:532-534) sasquatch-like beings as one of several kinds of dangerous beings that were not acquired as guardian spirits.

> Mountain and forest giants (c'iátqo) were generally referred to in English as "stick Indians," the Chinook Jargon term stík meaning "forest." These creatures were of human form, taller than normal human beings, lived in the mountains or rough foothill forests, went naked except for a breech clout, had odorless bodies which enabled them to walk up to game and kill it before the animal scented them, and could climb vertical cliffs and leap great distances. They were usually invisible. People feared the c'iátqo but seem to have suffered little harm from them beyond occasional thefts of killed game. Henry Allen had heard they could "make people crazy" but did not know how this was done. They did not function as soul stealers.

Other beings of human form were the underwater people who lived in plank houses at the bottom of Hood Canal and who had occasionally taken human wives; the earth dwarfs ("little earths") who lived in nooks, crannies, and forest recesses and could control the game and steal human souls; and possibly (it is not clear how human the shape) the wet-cedar-tree ogre, who could put unsuspecting hunters to sleep and steal their souls.

Quinault

The Quinault are one of several peoples who speak (or spoke) forms of the Olympic branch of the Salish family but they are the only one of this group for whom we have much information. Their villages were nearly all on the Quinault River, which flows into the Pacific about half way between the Columbia River and Cape Flattery. Their closest contacts were with their neighbors facing the open ocean but they also had some contact via the Chehalis River with the peoples of southern Puget Sound and Hood Canal, with whom they shared some notions about "giants." Ronald Olson worked with them in 1925-27; his oldest informant, Bob Pope, was born in the 1830's. Of the "giants" Olson (1936:170) says:

> In the mountains live many giants, called tsadja'tko or tsa'ạloh, who look almost the same as humans. On their right big toe a long

> quartz spike grows up to six feet long. If a human is kicked with this he will likely die. They are great thieves. People avoid the creeks on which they live. Some still come around the village at night and borrow a harpoon or a drift net, but usually return it before morning. They are fond of playing tricks on humans, such as sneaking up and kicking them, tying them to trees with thongs lashed to the genitals, etc. Some even married humans, and even today there are people living who are half tsa´åloh. The giants can often be heard at night. Even if their whistling sounds far off it is certain that they are close.

Olson adds two narratives, one telling of an encounter where a man managed to surprise a giant, described as having a hornlike growth on his head with a light at the end, and frighten him away; the other telling of a giant who murdered five men and was killed in a mass attack by the men of several villages.

The Quinault term Olson recorded as "tsadja´tko" is almost certainly identifiable with the Puget Sound term Hess recorded as c̓yátkʷu? and its Twana and Straits counterparts. Most of this description, except notably the toe spikes and the headlamp, sound like attributes of the c̓yátkʷu?. The term "tsa´åloh" may have actually referred to a different being since it occurs again in another context.

Earlier in his ethnography, Olson (1936:145-150) gives his informants' descriptions of various beings that may become guardian spirits, some of which were referred to by the Chinook Jargon word skukúm, 'strong,' 'powerful being,' 'dangerous being.' But Olson says (1936:146) "there was no sharp distinction between the 'real skuku´ms,' who were cannibal women named oɛ´h and those called skuku´m ma´ɬikulc or heca´itomixw (devil of the forest), who live in the high hills and mountains." Some of these skukums appear as men or women and may marry human beings. (Once near the mouth of the Hoh a female skukum even came into a white man's cabin and climbed into bed with him; he had sexual relations with her but "at the moment of orgasm he fell dead" and she died too.) In this context Olson gives an informant's account of a "skukum spirit" called "tsa´åloh" (one of the two terms later identified as "giants") who had icicle-like toenails that he kicked people with; he was once a man, had become a monster, and was ultimately killed by human beings.

Squamish

The Squamish live north of the Musqueam, formerly occupying the shores of Howe Sound and the valley of the Squamish River. They tell about a kind of wild people called smáy?iɬ. Aert H. Kuipers has recently (1969:23-28) re-elicited a story, originally recorded by Charles Hill-Tout before 1900, accounting for the origin of these wild people and he has recorded two more stories of encounters with them. These people are said to be the descendants of a chief's daughter and a slave who were abandoned but escaped into the mountains. They are described as big but otherwise there is nothing in the stories suggesting the sésq̓ᵊc of their neighbors to the south.

I have presented data on the beliefs of a number of Coast Salish peoples, but this is certainly not an exhaustive study. There are no doubt published sources that I have missed within the area I have tried to cover and there is unpublished material -- even in my own possession in the form of untranscribed tapes. Also, I have covered only a fraction of the territory that might be covered in the pursuit of native traditions about sasquatch-like beings.

I said at the beginning of this paper that I could see no real/mythical or natural/supernatural dichotomies in Coast Salish thought. I believe this view is supported by the material I have presented and also by the problems some ethnographers have had in presenting their data when they have tried to use these dichotomies. But there is in Coast Salish thought, I believe, a largely implicit dichotomy of human vs. non-human. I will return to this later.

I also suggested at the beginning that we cannot simply assume that the various terms for sasquatch-like beings refer to the same entity but must demonstrate it. How many sasquatch-like beings do the data suggest? Here is a tentative taxonomy:

I. The stítəɬ as described by all or nearly all sources appear to be unfriendly strangers. Smith derives the term from 'spear' (harpoon?), which could imply the strangers were fishermen, but I suggest that it is identifiable with Halkomelem stéyṫaɬ 'from upriver' and that it originally simply referred to the direction the strangers came from. The c̓yéɬtkʷ of the Lummi informant Patrick George sound like his stítəɬ under another name. The Squamish smáy?iɬ are also simply strangers.

II. The Halkomelem and Straits tree-strikers, though called by various terms, sound somewhat similar and I would be inclined to equate them and suggest a common source for the belief, though not necessarily a real animal.

III. The Puget Sound and Twana "Little Earths" resemble each other but differ, I think, from the more northerly tree-strikers. (I should mention that throughout the whole area covered another dwarf people, called qʷiqʷəstáyməxʷ or something of the sort, are known, but only in a story in which they live far to the north or off in the ocean.)

IV. The cannibal ogress has pretty nearly the same image throughout the area, stabilized no doubt by the roaster-roasted story. It seems that only James Point at Musqueam has explicitly connected her with any of the other beings.

V. If we subtract all of these, we are left with: 1. the Stalo sésq̓əc, 2. the Cowichan and Saanich z̓áməkʷəs, 3. the Lummi c̓áməkʷəs, 4. the Klallam c̓yéɬtkʷ, 5. the Puget Sound c̓yátkʷu?, 6. the Twana c̓iátqo, and 7. the Quinault cəjátko. Clearly 2 and 3 are cognate terms and so are 4, 5, 6, and 7. It is tempting to equate them all and conclude that they are simply different words for the same thing. However, the descriptions we have of them do not really give them many common attributes.

All are giants, human in form but bigger than ordinary human beings, and all live in the woods and mountains. But beyond these attributes there is not another thing mentioned by all accounts. The next most common attribute is nocturnal habits, mentioned by all but the Saanich and Klallam informants. Since their descriptions were brief, this may be simply an accidental omission. All but the Lummi, Saanich, and Klallam informants mentioned stealing food from people, which might also be an accidental omission, except that Patrick George at Lummi ascribed theft of food to the other two kinds of beings that sound like real human beings. Only the Stalo and Lummi accounts describe their giants as hairy. The Twana account, moreover, says their giants went naked except for a breech clout, which suggests to me that they were no different from ordinary human beings in pelage. Only the Saanich and Klallam accounts mentioned abnormal walking, but the Stalo and Twana accounts mentioned unusual speed. Lummi, Puget Sound, and Quinault accounts mentioned whistling; Stalo, Puget Sound, and Quinault the theft of women. Other attributes appear less often. I have tentatively listed them as Table 1. It is quite possible that further investigation would put more plusses on the list. But as things stand it seems we can only say that most if not all of the Coast Salish of this area seem to agree that there are large, man-like beings in the woods and mountains who differ from human beings in various ways.

Why should the Coast Salish believe this? Why should they have these traditions about giants in the woods and mountains? I see several possible answers, which are not mutually exclusive:

1. *There is a real animal there -- a big non-human primate perhaps -- and experience with this animal confirms and perpetuates the tradition.*

The existence of a large non-human primate would account for the image of the big, hairy sésqəc, the big footprints, the frightening encounters, possibly the theft of food, and the whistling. But a large non-human primate would not really steal women -- though the gorilla was once accused of this, nor trick people by tying them up, nor kick them with spiked feet, nor have some of the other attributes ascribed to one or another giant.

If there is a real animal, shouldn't there be better descriptions in the ethnographic literature? Not necessarily. Anthropologists do not consciously suppress information, but they sometimes do not know what to do with it. There are ethnographies of peoples whom I know to have traditions of sasquatch-like beings that make no mention of such traditions; I suspect that these omissions occur not because the writers had never heard of the traditions but because they did not know how to categorize them.

If there is a real animal, why should it be given fanciful attributes, like unbendable legs or odorless bodies? Because people make things up? Well, if people could have made up unbendable legs and odorless bodies, couldn't they have also made up seven-foot, hairy sasquatches? Of course they could have, but as I suggested earlier, we might think they made up beavers too, if we did not know better.

2. *There were real people there -- hostile strangers in the mountains -- who were so little known they could be given non-human attributes.*

Interior Salish and Sahaptins did cross over the Cascades into the upper drainages of coast rivers. At an earlier time, the ancestors of the Athapaskans who lived in historic times in the hills near the mouth of the Columbia must have passed through Coast Salish country, probably as inland hunters, possibly not inclined to establish friendly relations with the river and saltwater people. Such inland hunters could easily account for the theft of women and children as well as food, perhaps for the mysterious whistling (Patrick George gave them whistles, remember) and even for tying people up. But they would not have been seven feet tall, nor covered with hair, nor leave giant footprints. Besides, there are names for real people -- stítəɬ, etc. as distinguished from giants. On the other hand, if there were several such incursions of real people, then possibly some became better known and recognized as human, while others remained mysterious and non-human.

3. *There are natural events that are better explained by the hypothesis of forest and mountain beings than by competing hypotheses.*

Rocks fall; trees fall; there are strange noises in the mountains; children and even adults do get lost; women do run away. How are these things explained? Marian W. Smith (1940:131-132) cites Wickersham's (1898) account of how the Little Earths cause a person to get lost and comments to the effect that the belief makes sense in "a culture where accident as such did not exist." Did the Coast Salish have no concept "accident?" I do not believe we can answer the question yet. Native theories of intention, responsibility, causality, etc. are matters for linguistics -- grammatical and textual analysis -- and currently a number of people are working on Salish languages so the question may be answered. But it has seemed to me that some of my informants, Patrick George for one, have operated without a concept "natural death." In his narratives (given in English) no one died but what some entity that in my tradition, but not his, would be called "supernatural" had entered or left the body. Perhaps there was simply no theory of deterioration of the body with age; so people just cannot die of natural causes.

Perhaps then in the native view, trees do not simply grow old and fall; they have to be pushed. Rocks do not simply loosen through erosion and fall; if you are below them, they are thrown at you; if you are above them, they are not rocks at all but beings capable of bounding away at great speed -- but only downhill since they cannot bend their legs.

In human relations perhaps sexual attraction and affection between husband and wife do not simply deteriorate through time; love potions, spells, and skukums steal them away. For both parties to a separation this hypothesis may be more satisfactory than the alternatives our culture offers.

4. *The belief in forest and mountain beings promotes behavior that helps perpetuate the belief.*

That is, the beliefs do not merely offer better explanations for observable events (as in 3) but reward the believers with something more than just the satisfaction of their curiosity This is of course not an answer to the question of how the beliefs originated but only to the question of how they are maintained and modified once they are there.

Do, for example, beliefs in unreal dangers protect people from real dangers? Possibly if there are real people in the mountains who may steal women and children, there is survival value in imagining that they have super-human proportions and powers.

Perhaps too, beliefs in imagined localized dangers may promote the specialization in subsistence activities that seems to me to have been basic to Coast Salish social organization (Suttles 1960). I have been writing here as if beliefs were uniform within a village or dialect area, but they probably were not. Within a single village different persons followed professions requiring special skills and knowledge, which they closely guarded. Thus it may be that a mountain-goat hunter knew very well that certain whistling in the mountains came from marmots or pikas (animals that live only at high altitudes) but preferred to let others believe it was sasquatches; at the same time he might subscribe to the sasquatch hypothesis himself to explain less common events such as falling rocks.

As another, I hope not too far-fetched example, the Twana belief in the wet cedar-tree ogre (who stole the souls of hunters who loitered under wet cedar trees) may have kept some Twana hunters from spending too much time on rainy days under cedar trees and promoted their hunting success. This success gave the hunter an audience respectful of his beliefs, which got perpetuated. In this case the belief also provides an explanation of failure for the hunter who succumbed to the temptation of resting under a cedar tree.

5. *The existence of sasquatch-like beings makes the world more intelligible.*

This is to suggest that the beliefs do more than explain **specific** events like the falling of a rock or the loss of a woman but that they are "myths" in the sense that they reflect some fundamental truths about the world.

Two basic truths for the Coast Salish, as perhaps for all non-Western peoples, are: man stands apart from nature and yet man depends upon nature. (For Western peoples it seems to be man stands apart from and must dominate nature.) How can these truths be presented? More specifically, how can we define man as something apart from nature and how can we make his dependence on nature acceptable?

One way the Coast Salish separate man from nature is by showing how dangerous it is to cross the barrier that separates the human from the non-human. Thus the Upper Stalo woman who married a sésqəc became unconscious, first when she was captured by her non-human husband and again, after she had developed non-human attributes, when she returned to human society. The Samish woman who married a sea-being under Deception Pass began to sprout sea-weed and could not return at all. And that encounter in the cabin on the Hoh was fatal to both parties.

Perhaps another way of separating man from nature and defining humanity is through images of non-human beings that are minimally different from human beings. Giants, gnomes, etc. around the world may provide these images and our sasquatch-like beings may provide them for the Coast Salish.

Mary M. Young (1970) suggests that belief in these figures is akin to racism, since racism consists of defining other peoples as non-human. In this connection I should point out that although the Coast Salish terms that originally meant "person" or "people" now mean "Indian" as contrasted to "White," it seems that before Europeans arrived these terms were not reserved for members of one's own village, language group, or even the Coast Salish as a whole. This usage is quite consistent with the picture I get of a Coast Salish social organization consisting of overlapping networks established by marriage and containing no discrete, bounded social units. Thus the human/non-human boundary was much less restricted here than in parts of the world where there are we-groups who define themselves as the only true human beings. This means that the Coast Salish images of minimally non-human beings were not based on real neighbors of different customs, language, or skin color; it does not mean, however, that they always treated each other humanely.

For the Coast Salish, man's dependence on nature is shown in two ways, which are patterned after human relationships. First, there is the relationship between the individual human being and a non-human being seen in a vision (the "guardian spirit" relationship), which is a kind of partnership. Probably most persons had vision experiences and in a sense then there was a "myth" for every person. Sasquatch-like beings seem rarely if ever to have become guardian spirits. Perhaps they are too similar to human beings.

Second, there can be a relationship (in the Halkomelem- and Straits-speaking area anyway) between a local group and some non-human being or population, established by a mythical marriage and therefore an affinal relationship. Marriages with sasquatch-like beings establishing such ties seem rare. The Upper Stalo marriage with a sésqəc was not permanent, though the woman did leave a child behind. The Quinault marriages with skukums sound more like guardian spirit relationships. But perhaps the real meaning of that fatal encounter in the cabin on the Hoh is that white men cannot establish affinal ties with nature.

I do not mean to suggest that people consciously invent stories and beliefs to illustrate great truths. I would suggest rather that when the people are presented with alternatives they choose the ones that make the most sense to them. Possibly they have chosen to believe some things about sasquatch-like beings in this fashion.

The problem with the kind of speculation I have just engaged in is that it has some of the same circularity of some kinds of functional analysis, e.g., we observe practice A, we postulate that there is a need X that it serves, we are asked how we know there is a need X, and we answer that it is obvious because there is a practice A to serve it. I may be simply inferring the "basic truths" from the beliefs I see as embodying them. Others may find quite different ones. They may also find the sasquatch-like beings playing a more central role in Coast Salish mythology that I have been able to cast them in.

6. *People enjoy believing in scary things.*

There seems to be plenty of evidence around that people enjoy talking about scary things and appreciate a well-told story about a frightening

experience. Is the esthetic experience of listening to such a story heightened by belief? Are we tempted to believe because it makes life more exciting?

Also, if you are alone in the mountains and something bounds away from under your feet and the hair rises on the back of your neck, isn't it perhaps more comfortable to believe that it was something truly frightening than to admit that you were scared by a mere rock?

I have given all the possible and defensible reasons I can think of for the Coast Salish belief that there are giant man-like beings in the woods and mountains. There may be other possibilities that I have not thought of.[2] It does not seem to me that any one of these reasons is sufficient to account for the diversity of the beliefs. It seems more likely that these beliefs have grown out of several sources and have been maintained in several ways. One of the sources may have been a real man-like animal. But I must reluctantly admit that as I have presented the data and organized the arguments, I have found its track getting fainter. On the other hand, I have had some new thoughts about the Coast Salish, which is reward enough. I must agree with Young (1970) that studying people's beliefs tells us more about the people than about what they believe in. And of course, as Green (1968) was well aware when he challenged us anthropologists, we can neither prove nor disprove the existence of sasquatches by ethnography anyway, any more than we could use it to prove or disprove the existence of beavers.

Table 1

	Stalo sɛ́sqəc	Lummi ʔcaməkʷəs	Saanich ʔzaməkʷəs	Klallam ʔcyɛ́tkʷ	Puget Sound ʔcyátkʷuʔ	Twana ʔciátgo	Quinault ʔcəjátko
giant size	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
in woods/ mountains	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
nocturnal	+	+			+	+	+
hairy	+	+					
breech clout						+	
stiff legs			+	+			
fast	+					+	
whistle		+			+		+
speak	+	-					
steal food	+				+	+	+
steal women	+				+		+
have half-human child	+						
steal children					+		
cause unconsciousness					+		
make crazy		+				+	
kill people	+						+
trick people					+		+
travel by water	+				-		
odorless						+	
spike on toe							+

Footnotes

1. Werner Cohn (1962) has also used this incident to question the universality of our dichotomies.

2. I can also think of a few impossible and indefensible reasons, e.g., a. sasquatches exist but they are supernatural, b. sasquatches exist but they are extra-terrestrial. The latter sort of hypothesis, which I have not yet heard but expect to, seems especially appealing to those who, in the Western scientific tradition, reject the supernatural as such but do not want to give up myths as concretely real. For them, a comet causes the earth to stand still for Joshua at Jerico, angels descend from flying saucers, and Jesus Christ is Commander-in-Chief of Cosmic Affairs. Surely a better way of having your cake and eating it too is to look for truths about ourselves in myths rather than for truths about external reality -- providing of course that we know a myth when we see one.

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ANATOMY OF THE SASQUATCH FOOT

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Abstract

Many plaster casts and photographs of footprints have been examined in detail which were reportedly made by a species of bipedal primate, the sasquatch or bigfoot. They prove not to be simply enlarged human footprints but show several peculiarities. These include flat arches, a double ball, and enlarged heels. Examination of leverage mechanics of the human foot indicates that with excessive body weight certain modifications would be advantageous. The expected modifications are the same as those seen in the reputed sasquatch footprints.

Within the last century, several hundred people have reported sightings of gigantic man-like animals in the forests and mountains of the Pacific Northwest. Hundreds more have seen the huge footprints left by these hairy creatures. Possibly ten times as many people have seen these giant primates and their tracks without reporting anything to newsmen or law officers for fear of ridicule.

The animal in question is commonly called sasquatch -- based on one Indian name for it -- or "bigfoot" for obvious reasons. If this animal really exists, it would probably be man's closest living relative and a member of the zoological family *Hominidae*. It is not human, however, in any sense of the word; all reports agree on its lack of language, artifacts, and social organization.

While a few scientists take these reports seriously, the majority doubt that any such animal exists. Sightings are usually dismissed as being of standing bears, hallucinations, or fabrications; footprints are explained as those of bears or, if they are quite distinct, as deliberately planted hoaxes. Also, skeptics point out that no specimen, living or dead, is available for scientific examination -- not even a single bone has been identified as belonging to this species.

Tangible evidence for this type of primate consists mainly of several photographs, two short movie strips, handprints (Krantz 1971), and the footprints themselves which have been measured, drawn, photographed, and cast in plaster. I will not attempt to review here all of the above evidence, but will confine this analysis primarily to what can be deduced from the recorded footprints. Other evidence will be used only to help establish the approximate body weight involved, since this is the major factor in understanding the design of foot suggested here.

There are many sources of information on sasquatch or bigfoot tracks, not all of them equally reliable. I have examined casts made from the footprints of 17 different individuals and photographs of tracks and casts of another 50. On one occasion I saw an actual footprint left in snow. It is possible that some of the photographs are of faked prints -- people are known to have attempted this -- but most of the material upon which my study is based is probably as authentic as any that exists.

Information on sasquatch body weight is more difficult to obtain. Most people who report seeing them are sure they are very heavy. Estimates range from approximately 300 pounts to half a ton or more, but these are usually made under trying circumstances and cannot be taken as very precise.

Equally vague are estimates based on depth of impression of footprints. A sasquatch foot has about three times the surface area of a typical man's foot. One might assume that if the print is as deep as a man makes in the same ground, the sasquatch is three times as heavy. If the print is twice as deep, the body weight of six men is indicated. Normally when people compare their own footprints with those of a sasquatch, it is by daylight and often many days later than the original made at night. Changes in soil softness and compressibility make such conclusions only rough estimates.

There are at least three cases I know of in which more precise information is available. The first is the reported capture of a young specimen in 1884 near Yale, British Columbia, by a railroad crew (Green 1968, 1970; Sanderson 1961). The original newspaper account has recently been confirmed to me by the grandson of one of the men involved. The creature, which soon disappeared, reportedly stood 4 feet 7 inches tall and weighed 127 pounds -- a very stocky body build.

Roger Patterson, who took a short movie of one walking in northern California, estimated its body weight at 500 pounds. Review of this film shows the subject to have been just 7 feet tall. Patterson's estimate can be taken seriously because of his long good look at the animal and on his ability to accurately guess human weights -- he called my own 210 pounds exactly.

The third case is quite unverified but fits well into the series. An experienced hunter and prospector in northeastern Washington claims to have shot and killed one. He told me it measured 8-1/2 feet tall and weighed 850 pounds according to careful examination of the body. (Since he has produced no evidence to back up his story, it is assumed by some to have been fabricated.)

When plotted on a graph, these three height and weight figures closely fit a curve based on theoretical calculations. The volume (and weight) of an object does not increase in direct proportion with its linear dimension or height but with the cube of that dimension. Thus, if an animal's body is made twice as tall, keeping the same shape, it will be eight times as heavy. On a lesser scale, if an animal's height is increased by half, its weight increase will be 1-1/2 cubed (1-1/2 x 1-1/2 x 1-1/2) or 3.375 times as great.

Jim McLarin of Willow Creek, California, was the first to apply this principle to sasquatch dimensions by taking a base figure of 6 feet tall and

300 pounds body weight, and extending on this. A curve drawn from this base line gives 134 pounds instead of 127 at 4 feet 7 inches, 477 pounds instead of 500 at 7 feet, and 852 pounds instead of 850 at 8 feet 6 inches. All three instances fit the curve very closely (Fig. 1).

The vast majority of sasquatch heights are reported to be in the range of 7 to 9 feet tall. Body weights of 500 to 1,000 pounds are then the most reasonable expectations. Greater heights and weights have been claimed, and extending on this scale gives 1,389 pounds for 10 feet tall and 2,350 pounds for 12 feet tall, etc. I am inclined to set 9 feet and half a ton as the greatest size of bipedal primate that could properly function.

The typical sasquatch footprint looks superficially very much like a man's increased to about 17 inches. Closer examination, however, shows several differences which have aroused some curiosity but little in the way of explanation until now. The key to figuring out the kind of foot involved lies in understanding how the indicated body weight would affect a gigantic, but otherwise normal, human foot. From this, one can go on to predict what kinds of modifications might reasonably be expected in such a foot in order to support a body of 500 to 1,000 pounds.

Increasing body size has an interesting effect on the strength of anatomical structures. The pulling power of muscles and the breaking strength of tendons and ligaments are directly proportional to their cross-sectional areas. Yet their weight, like that of the whole body, increases with volume. Cross-sectional areas increase with the square of a linear dimension, while weight increases with the cube. Thus if a man were doubled in height, keeping all proportions the same, his muscles and supporting tissues would be four times as strong, but his weight would become eight times greater. In relation to the weight he would have to maneuver, his strength would be cut in half. Some changes in body design, especially in lever lengths, would be desirable for such an enlarged man to move about like other people. The large size indicated for sasquatch poses the same kind of problem.

The first peculiarity in these giant footprints is that they are quite flat. The instep or longitudinal arch of the foot is not there. In man this arch is maintained by ligaments and by the muscular pull on tendons. Given 500 pounds or more of body weight, these structures would not have sufficient increased strength and the arch would have to flatten. While adult sasquatch prints are flat, a number of supposed young ones show some arching. It is an interesting question whether the feet flatten with maturity just because of the weight, or if there are genetic mechanisms which would lead to a flat foot regardless of usage. If a number of people were making fake bigfoot prints, it might be expected that many of them would not have thought about this characteristic and would have included arches comparable to their own. None of the evidence I have examined shows a normal human arch.

Many sasquatch prints show what is called a double ball at the base of the big toe. Where the ball occurs in the human foot, there are often two distinct bulges, one behind the other (Fig. 2). The single bulge on the human foot is at the distal or forward end of the first metatarsal bone (see Fig. 3 for the bones of a normal human foot). The question then arises as to which of these two balls corresponds to the one of the human foot and what it is that the other one represents.

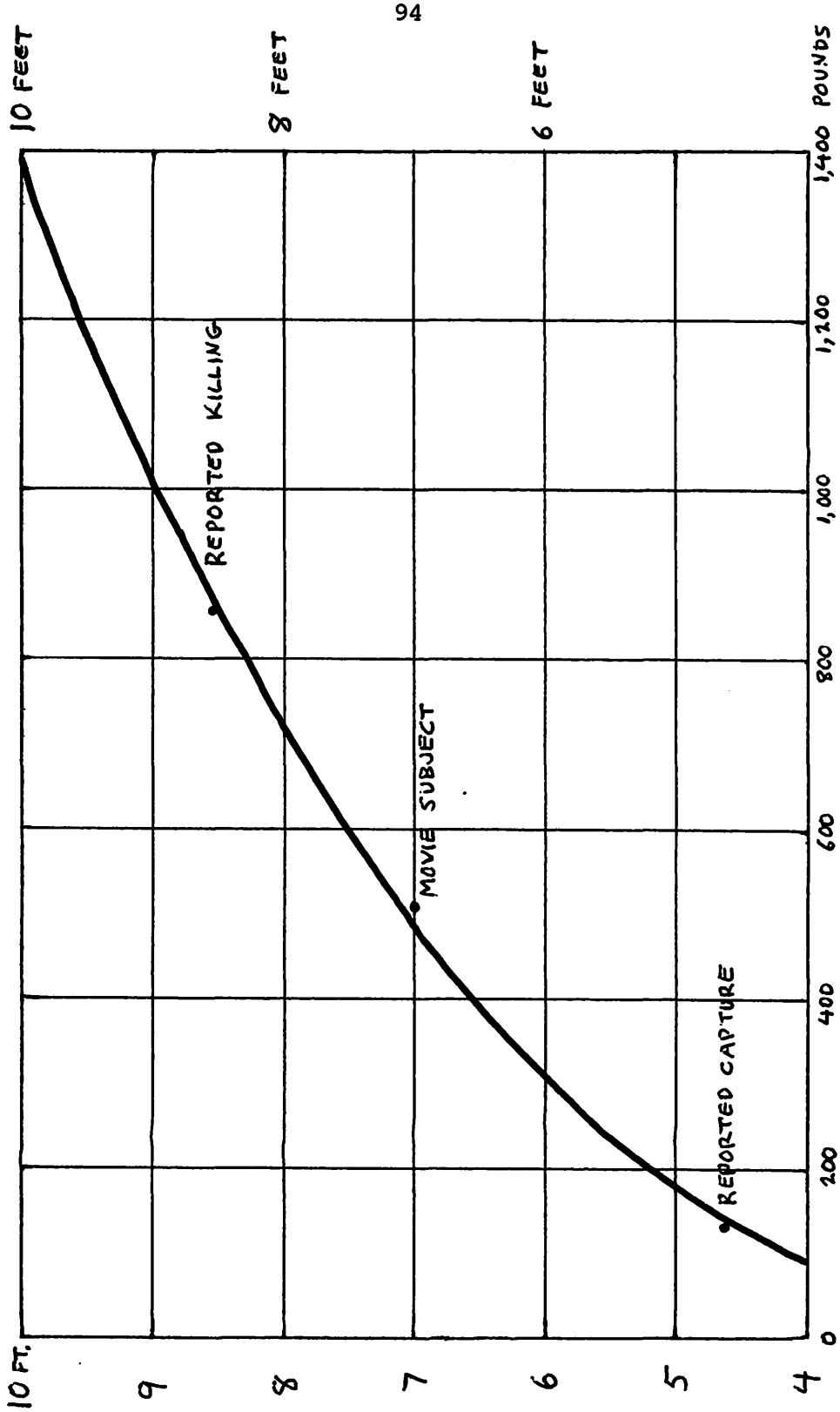

Fig. 1. Height and weight curve for sasquatches based on 300 pound body weight at 6 feet tall. Note that the three most dependable reported figures fit the curve very closely. At 4 ft., 7 in., the specimen captured in 1884 was just 7 lbs. lighter than called for in this calculation; Roger Patterson's 7 ft. tall movie subject was estimated as being no more than 23 lbs. beyond that calculated; and the reportedly killed specimen was just 2 lbs. under the scale. Most other estimates are at least reasonably close to the line of heights and weights given here.

Fig. 2. One of the best preserved footprints of a sasquatch ever photographed. This print shows the flattened arch, wide heel, and double ball, as well as the uniformly sized and nearly squared-off set of toes. Photo by Rene Dahinden, courtesy of John Green (1968:30).

In his book, Ivan T. Sanderson (1961) suggested that the posterior ball is at the end of the metatarsal, and that the anterior ball is a pad of flesh under the first segment of a very long toe. Assuming all the toes are similarly long, it follows that they are webbed for a great part of their lengths. If these animals do a great deal of swimming as some people suspect, such toes would appear to make sense. However, this interpretation does not fit well with what is indicated of the creature's weight.

Very long toes cannot be pressed into the ground with great force in walking. They do not directly transmit body weight, but will push down only as a result of the pull of the tendons along their undersides. The muscular strength available to flex or curl such long toes would not be nearly enough to dig them into the ground as deeply as the rest of the foot. Long toes would bend upward with each deeply indented step, yet all footprints show well-indented toe impressions.

Only a relatively short toe could have the proper tendon leverage to press firmly on the ground. Thus, it must be concluded that it is the anterior bulge that corresponds to the ball of the human foot, leaving relatively short, strong, and unwebbed toes. The posterior bulge remains to be explained.

Given a totally flattened foot, all structures that would have constituted the arch will be firmly pressed to the ground. Behind the ball of the foot is the next bony projection, the near or proximal end of the first metatarsal (Fig. 3). If the posterior bulge is formed under the other end of this same bone, the two bulges would be much farther apart than is evident on any sasquatch footprint. The only way for the posterior bulge to be as far forward as it is, by this theory, is to assume that the metatarsal is abnormally short and the bones behind it abnormally long. An examination of the mechanics of walking will show that indeed this should be the case for a gigantic hominid.

The foot can be described as a simple lever at the end of the leg. In taking a step, muscles of the calf (gastrocnemius and soleus) tighten and pull up the projecting heel. With the foot pivoting at the ankle its forepart then presses downward, thus lifting the body in the basic "step-off" action. If the power arm of this lever (heel) is short and the load arm (forefoot) is long, a significant extension is added to each step. This is the normal human condition (Fig. 4).

If the body weight is increased many-fold and the strength of the calf muscles is increased to a much lesser degree, then this action is no longer possible in sustained walking. If his foot were built just like a man's, the sasquatch would not have enough strength in his calf muscles to easily lift his vastly greater bulk with each step.

The simplest way to handle this problem is to change the lengths of the lever arms. If the heel, or power arm, is lengthened, greater force is applied to the step-off; if the forefoot, or load arm, is shortened, less force is required. Put another way, this adjustment means the ankle joint must be set relatively farther forward along the length of the foot.

The metatarsals are the longest bones in the forefoot. If this region is to be relatively shortened, the base of the first metatarsal must be moved far forward. Given a sufficient shortening of this bone, its two ends will be in the proper positions to form the double ball as seen in many sasquatch footprints.

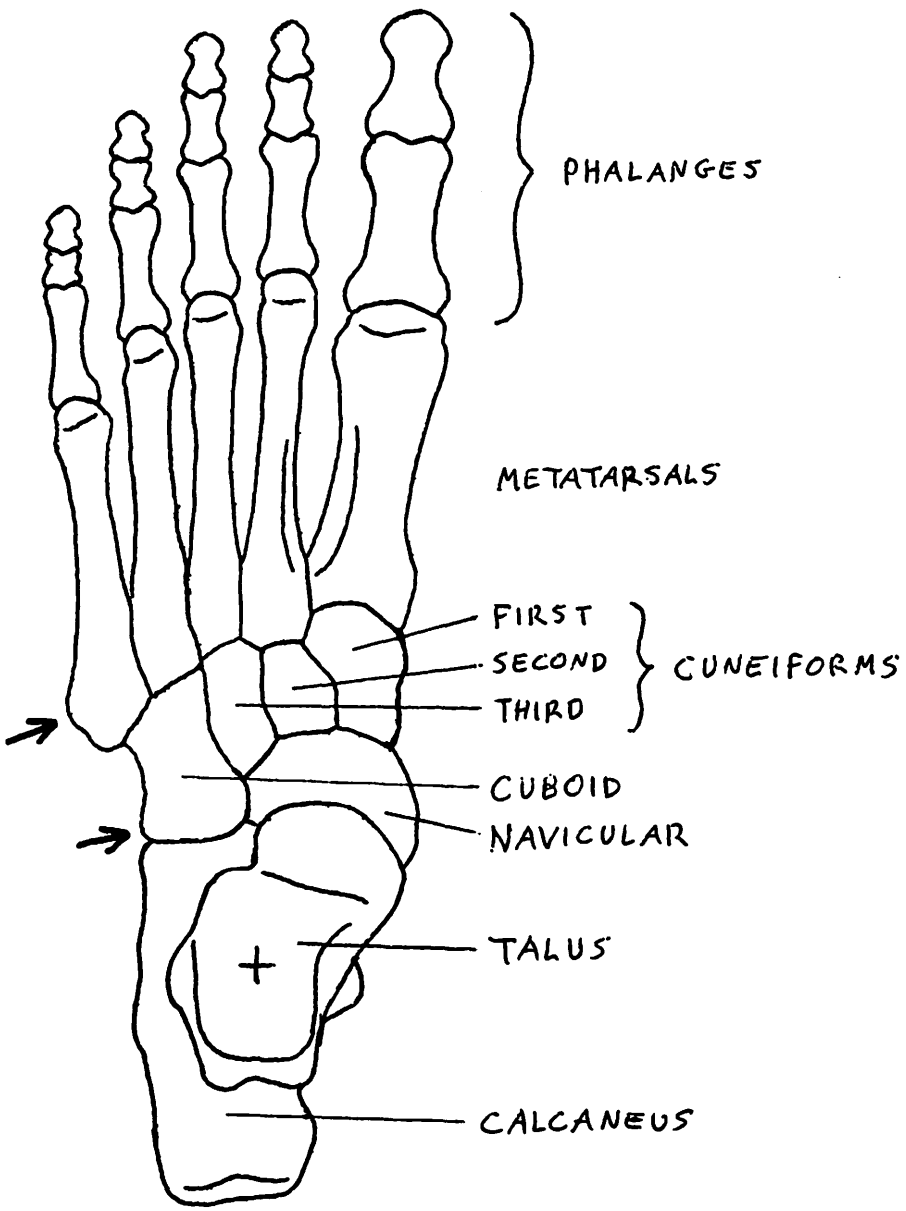

Fig. 3. Bones of the human foot as seen from above. Arrows indicate the locations of the two bony projections on the outside edge of the sole. These same projections in the sasquatch foot bones were for a time thought to have formed the bases for the calloused outgrouths on one crippled foot.

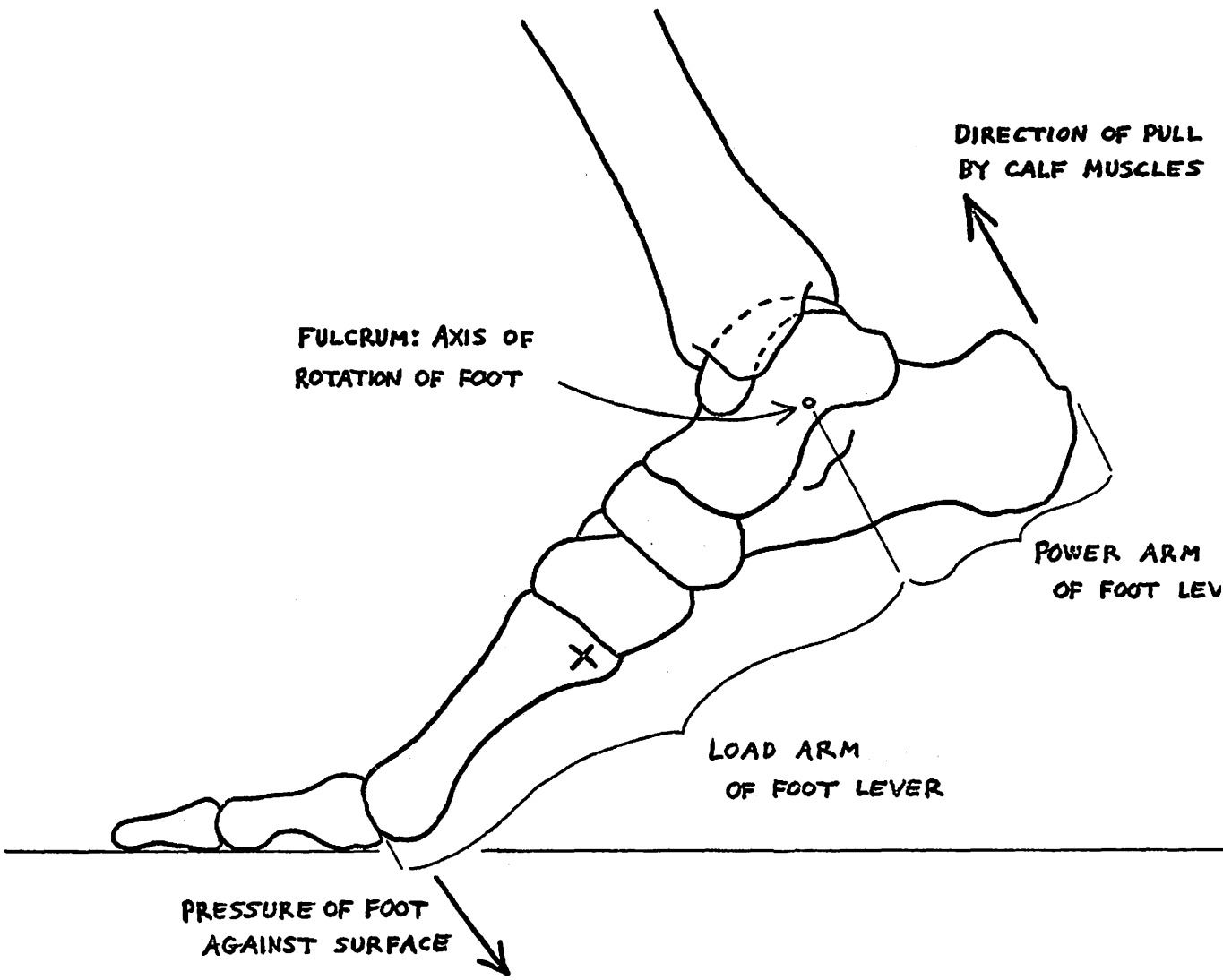

Fig. 4. Side view of human foot bones illustrating how they function as a propulsive lever. The sasquatch foot should have a more powerful lifting force at the price of a relatively shorter step-off distance. This would be accomplished by a lengthening of the load arm and a shortening of the power arm of this lever. Given a flattened arch, the posterior end of the first metatarsal (marked with an X) would rest on the ground. Since this bone is relatively much shorter in the sasquatch foot, its two ends are closer together and would form the basis of the double ball.

If the foot segments are altered in this way, the heel section must be correspondingly longer. This is difficult to measure in footprints, but in some cases it is clearly evident. Rather than being simply longer, the heel region is wider as well -- typically one-third of the foot length. Such a general enlargement of the calcaneum (heel bone) should be expected for greater stability and to provide greater breaking strength in proportion to the increased strain put upon it.

The action described above is the step-off where the distal ends of all five metatarsals press against the ground when the heel is lifted. The "push-off" is still another matter where the toe segment is used to lengthen the stride with a final additional push. In man, it is only the big toe or first digit that is significantly involved in this final push-off. The action is not very powerful and many people do not use it at all. If a sasquatch were to try to use this final push-off from the big toe alone, he would not likely have sufficient strength to accomplish anything of the kind. Only by using all five toes in such an action might any possible push be given to his vast bulk.

A five-toed push-off would require at least two anatomical adjustments from the normal human condition which would be visible in footprints. Since the emphasis is not to be on the first toe alone, all five should be more nearly equal in size and strength. Also, in order for them to push in unison, the front of the foot should be more nearly squared-off instead of being strongly tapered as in man (Fig. 2).

Many sasquatch footprints show nearly equal-sized toes lined up almost straight across in a rather nonhuman manner as might be expected. Curiously, there are also several reported bigfoot prints which do not show much of those traits, but appear rather more human in the toes. There are two possible explanations for this. Sasquatch feet may include a great range of variation from a nearly human set of toes at one extreme to the ideal type described above at the other extreme. The second possibility is that some of these prints were faked, at least in part, by enlarging the impression of the first toe to make them look more "convincing." I would rather not choose between these two alternatives at the present time.

In 1969 a number of sasquatch sightings were reported 100 miles north of Spokane, Washington, and late in that year several sets of tracks were seen and recorded by many observers. Casts were made from clear imprints of both feet of this individual and have been studied in great detail. This specimen is especially interesting because its right foot is deformed. The prints of each foot are about 17 inches long, indicating a fairly large creature perhaps in the 700 to 800 pound range (Fig. 5).

The right foot showed only four toes -- the middle one was either missing or held vertically while the adjacent toes turned in, largely filling the gap. More important was a distortion of the whole foot which was bent on its long axis. The origin of this deformity is not clear, but its effects illustrate something of the structure of the foot.

Taking the heel region as stationary, the entire forepart of the foot is turned inward about 30 degrees. The individual did not walk with the foot in this position, but turned it outward somewhat so that its toe-heel line was

Fig. 5. Original footprints of the crippled sasquatch from Northeastern Washington. The left foot is normal, while the right print shows a missing toe, bending of the long axis of the foot, and two projections on the outside edge of the sole. The "feet" appear to be the opposite sides since these casts represent the bottoms of the feet as seen from below. Photo courtesy of John Green (1970:76).

parallel to that of the other foot. This left both heel and toes twisted inward, while the weight of the leg rested more toward the outside edge of the foot. One effect of this displacement is a slight rise at the instep. This is the only case of an adult sasquatch footprint showing what might be called a raised arch.

Even more interesting is the outer edge of this foot where two lateral projections may be seen on the cast. Both feet appear to be strongly calloused around their edges and this callousing on the right foot extends around these two projections. At first glance these appear to correspond in location to normal bony projections. The anterior one would be the proximal or rear end of the fifth metatarsal. The posterior one would then be a projection on the rear edge of the cuboid bone. If these identifications were correct, the projections would be much farther forward than is normal for a human foot. This would mean the fifth metatarsal is abnormally short, and the calcaneus very large, just as indicated above from other evidence.

Actually the projections do not look like callouses over the bones indicated. The two projections are quite symmetrical and equal in size. Yet the two underlying bones, whether in man or gorilla, are not symmetrical, nor are they the same size. Therefore another interpretation is called for.

The twisting of this foot caused a compression of elements along the inside edge and an extension or spreading of all elements on the outside edge of the foot. Measuring around the outside curve from the base of the little toe to the heel tip, the right foot is almost two inches longer than the left. Unless some bones are enlarged, this means there must be open gaps between several of these bones. Since only three bones form this edge of the foot (fifth metatarsal, cuboid, and calcaneus), there are only two gaps that might have opened. These are in front of and behind the cuboid (Fig. 6).

Gaps between adjacent bones would have to be filled with cartilage or bony material in order to stabilize the foot. This filling would be expected to have grown outward beyond the bone gaps to form the bases upon which callouses developed.

Projections of such gap-fillers would be located just behind the bony processes that were first considered. This means an even shorter fifth metatarsal and longer calcaneus than was previously indicated. It shows an excellent agreement with the short first metatarsal as was deduced from the double ball on the inside edge of the foot.

In general, the sasquatch foot differs from man's in having greatly enlarged ankle bones, especially the heel, very short metatarsals, and a more nearly equal set of toes. These characteristics are all logical requirements for an otherwise human foot adapted to a body weight of 500 pounds or more. These characteristics are also evident in preserved footprints.

In addition, at least two eye-witnesses have added some confirmation to this reconstruction. Roger Patterson has told me his sasquatch appeared to have remarkably thick ankles, although this did not show clearly in his movie strip. If the leg is set relatively farther forward on the foot than in man, then a thick ankle is a consequence. The man who claims to have shot and killed a

Fig. 6. A duplicate set of casts of footprints from the crippled sasquatch with reconstructed bones drawn in. Compare the relative sizes of the various bones with those of a normal human foot as seen in Fig. 3. Note also the gaps indicated between the bones of the deformed foot where the calloused projections appear. The bones are drawn as if the feet were seen from above. Since the casts correspond to the bottoms of the feet, the right and left feet appear to be reversed.

sasquatch in northeast Washington early in 1970 described the foot to me in some detail. He was most impressed by the relatively short and steeply sloped upper surface of the forefoot.

All good quality bigfoot prints must have been made by one or the other of two possible agencies. Either they are real footprints of a gigantic sub-human primate, or else they are faked as a hoax. (Only very vague prints could be confused with those of bears.)

There are a number of reasons to believe at least certain sasquatch tracks could not have been made by hoaxers. Their obscure locations would mean that perhaps a hundred times as many tracks were laid as have been discovered. Lengths of stride and obstacles stepped over often surpass anything a man can do. Depths of imprints would require a hoaxer to carry many hundreds of pounds of extra weight, thus making the walking accomplishments even more impossible. Independent toe movements as noticed in some tracks would require a special device to accomplish.

To all these must now be added the fact that our supposed hoaxer is an expert on human anatomy with a very inventive mind. He was able to create from nothing all the details of how a foot might be redesigned to support a body weight several times that of a man. And he has continued to plant these tracks over more than a lifetime, always showing only vague hints of these anatomical peculiarities. These include great width of heel, a double ball, and a straighter row of similarly sized toes.

No matter how incredible it may seem that the sasquatch exists and has remained uncaught, it is even more incredible to believe in all the attributes of the hypothetical human track-maker. As Sherlock Holmes put it, "... when you have eliminated the impossible, whatever remains, *however improbable*, must be the truth." Even if none of the hundreds of sightings had ever occurred, we would still be forced to conclude that a giant bipedal primate does indeed inhabit the forests of the Pacific Northwest.

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